Studies in Hogg and his World

Edited by Gillian H.Hughes
Textual consultant: Douglas Mack

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ARTICLES

The Royal Jubilee: James Hogg and the House of Hanover

Valentina Bold

I would like to start by quoting Hogg's response to Scott's invitation to George IV's coronation:

> Fain would I go to London. I have thought about it all this day and sometimes with the tear in my eye when I found on calm reflection the thing to be next to impracticable. That great day in London is the next after St. Boswel's fair .... *I may not do it.*[1]

Although Hogg expressed admiration for George, this seems primarily due to hopes of a Royal Literary Society pension; a dualistic response pertinent to *The Royal Jubilee. A Scottish Mask.*

The *Jubilee* is a play commemorating George IV's 1822 'Jaunt' to Edinburgh, which Hogg did attend. With habitual hyperbole the 'Noctes' proclaimed:

> Nothing could exceed our delight on beholding, during the Royal Procession from Leith to Holyrood, the face of the Ettrick Shepherd. It rose before us on a sudden, an honest apparition, surmounted with clapping hands, and uttering, with true pastoral rigor, a torrent of loyal huzzas .... When he first caught a sight of the King, we verily thought he would have leapt off the platform, over the heads of five hundred people, into the King's coach. We stood prepared to intercept him in his flight.[2]

There is no evidence that Hogg was involved with the committees which regulated every particular of the event, but he must have been well informed about the preparations. Hogg knew several of the planners personally, including Stewart of Garth, who commissioned *The Jacobite Relics of Scotland* (1819-21); Scott, who published *Hints Addressed to the Inhabitants of Edinburgh, and others, in prospect of His*

Majesty's Visit (1822) in the persona of 'An Old Inhabitant'. The *Hints* foretell George IV's arrival at the 'ancient sea-port' of Leith, where 'Scottish monarchs were accustomed to land'. In a way which was flattering to Hogg, the 'spirited and beautiful description' of Queen Mary's landing in *The Queen's Wake* (1813) is cited in support. The monarch would be escorted to Holyrood by a hierarchical escort of Yeomen Cavalry and dignitaries, some with honorifics for the occasion: White Rod, Herald Trumpeters, Lord Lyon Depute. There would be a Levee at Holyrood Palace, a Hunt Ball and a Caledonian Ball. Such details provided Hogg with his plot.[3]

Given the anticipated pageantry, the dramatic form itself may be satirical. Real life props included the recently rediscovered Honours of Scotland. Principals were cast, prominent Highlanders and their 'tails' summoned to the capital. It was an opportunity for public rehabilitation for some; for status enhancement for others. The splendid retinue of the Duchess of Stafford, for instance, compensated for the blot on her character of her Sutherland Clearances. Moreover, in the wake of the 1820 Insurrection, here was an opportunity for Scotland to affirm its loyalty before the new monarch, just returned from touring his kingdoms in Hanover and Ireland.[4]

It was a patronage opportunity writ large: for social climbers like Grant of Rothiemurchus, writers such as Crabbe, and artists like Turner and Wilkie. Hogg, as mentioned, was actively seeking a Literary Society pension and surely had high hopes for advancement, especially as George was staying with his patrons, the Scotts of Buccleuch, at Dalkeith House.

The occasion gave rise to a spate of loyalist lyrics set to traditional Scottish airs, many associated with Jacobitism. 'Carle, now the King's come', by Scott, is best known, a resetting of the Jacobite air with words by Ramsay and Burns. To rather different effect, Scott lists the peers involved in the 1822 visit, and incorporates the rousing chorus:

> Carle, now the king's come!
> Carle, now the king's come!
> Thou shalt dance, and I will sing,
> Carle, now the king's come!

There was 'George the Fourth's Welcome':

> Hark, the pibroch's martial strain,
> Ca's the clans to Lothian's plain:

> Scotland's got her King again,
> Welcome Royal Geordie!

A song for 'Geordie the Fourth' was set to 'Donald MacDonald'. Tensions existed though, exploited incidentally by Hector Macmillan in his play *The Royal Visit* (1976). *The London Examiner* printed Alexander Rodger's 'Sawney, Now the King's come' anonymously:

> Sawney, now, the king's come,
> Sawney, now, the king's come,
> Kneel, and kiss his gracious—,
> Sawney, now the king's come.

Hogg's approach lies somewhere between Scott and Rodger, close to Galt's ambiguous 'Gathering of the West' in the commemorative September *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*. There is no evidence the *Jubilee* was performed but Robert Peel thanked Scott, on the king's behalf, for His Majesty's copy.[5]

The Jubilee was published on 14 August 1822, the day of the King's arrival. Its subtitle, 'A Scottish Mask', is deeply ambivalent. 'Mask' is court revelry, as formerly at Holyrood, but has connotations of deception, 'masking' identities and, in its earliest usage (c.725) is a spectre. Hogg had already demonstrated a predisposition for disguises in *The Spy* (1810-11). Galt wrote an allegorical play: *Anthropos; A Masque*, in volume three of his *Literary Life and Miscellanies* (1834), against the French revolution. Scots 'mask', the verb, is to make wort for ale by mixing malt with hot water, as used by Allan Ramsay, and Scott in *Old Mortality* (1816, Chapter 10). Mask, in the early nineteenth century, meant mesh of a fishing net, or catching fish by enmeshment, perhaps anticipating the web scene of *Confessions*?[6] The verse heading is resonant; from *The Jacobite Relics of Scotland* (1819-21): 'But I will sing a ranting sang/ That day our king comes o'er the water'. George literally sailed to Scotland but 'king o'er the water' implies Charlie.

The Jubilee is set, like the horrific confrontation in *Confessions*, in 'a romantic dell on Arthur's Seat'. The area was very much a part of the preparations. In Holyrood park on 10 August, the Celtic Society was presented with a ceremonial standard. Mary Grant commented on 23 August: 'Calton Hill and Salisbury Crags are covered with tents, where people who could not get lodgings have been living since the King came to Edinburgh. On each of these tents gay flags were flying'.[7]

Spirits gather for George like mundane 'clans', possibly reflecting

Clearances to the Lowlands. There are Scottish stereotypes from North and South: spirits of Gaels and spirits of Covenanters, equated here with the West. Contemporary accounts, including *Blackwood's*, stressed Glasgow was deserted during the visit, proving loyalty from the erstwhile seditious. The play opens with clarions; the irascible Genius of Holyrood, kin to Shakespeare's Scottish porter, wondering:

> Why all this commotion
> On land and on ocean?
> This shouting and knelling
> In my ancient dwelling? (p.107)[8]

John Grant of Rothiemurchus described the real-life fuss as:

> the very entertaining and ludicrous state of bustle in expectation of the sedate and sober citizens of the Scottish metropolis and the whimsical affectation of a sort of Highland costume, with about as much propriety in the conception and execution as if it had taken place in Paris or Brussels.[9]

Faced with such a 'gaudy caravel' (p.108) the Spirit awakes from a sleep since 'the days of the martyr, Charles the Good', last monarch to visit Scotland.

Scottish fairies affirm their loyalty through the Jacobite air quoted already, 'When the king comes o'er the Water'. An ethereal quality pervades; the air's C and F sharps lending charm to the words. Hogg matches verbal and musical rhymes with high and low Ds, respectively, on 'halls' and 'walls':

> Hail to the land of the pine and the oak,
> The land of the loyal heart in danger!
> Blest be her halls and her lordly walls,
> Again to enclose their royal stranger!
> Hail to the guest she loves the best,
> Whose fathers' blood her freedom bought her!
> The fairies' lay shall hail the day
> That Albyn's king came o'er the water.

'The son of our ancient honoured kings' is visiting; measured English evokes the romantic Scottish landscape:

> God bless the son of a thousand years!

> His foot's on our shore, on our mountains his eyes,
> Departed shades, arise, arise!
> The royal presence sets you free,
> This night be the Spirits' Jubilee!
> From sea and from strand,
> From lake and from land,
> From forest and fountain,
> And dark heathy mountain
> Come gather you, gather you without delay,
> For much is to do ere the break of day! (p.110)

Oriel (suggesting the apocryphal angel Uriel) enters, female Genius of the Ocean, 'with Sea-Nymphs' including 'Lady Foambell, freakish and vain' (p.111). The balancing of dignified and impish women is typical of Hogg: Gatty and Cherry in *The Three Perils of Woman* (1823); *Queen Hynde* (1825) and 'Wicked Wene'. Foambell, first sea-nymph (like first sea-lord), gives an account of the preparations which might amuse a royal audience, or committee: 'Mistress, you know how, a year agone,/ I sailed to the winds and summoned them on'. Despite initial mischievousness, 'well I knew the sacred charge' and she helped the ship, using some of Hogg's favourite motifs: 'lovely was her meteor sway,/ As she rainbowed the waves on her polar way' (p.111). Old Ocean, on board, marvelled at the 'Ochels Green' and 'Land of the Clans', and was overcome by Arthur's Seat's Gothic qualities of 'rocks fantastic' and 'castled pile':

> And the tear-drop fell as his thoughts did trace
> The fate of the Stuarts' hapless race,—
> The flower of the world that flourished there;
> And of all her comely race so fair
> The last and the loveliest too was gone,
> And the Royal Wanderer roamed alone. (p.112)

It had been thought the King might stay in Holyrood, echoed by the wistful reference to Charles; Hogg is showing George popular sympathies here.

A second, sparkling sea-nymph 'flashed in a thousand shivers of flame' against the sides of the Sovereign's bark (p.113). Her kin, Ripple, Rainbow, Gurgle and Gale created a beautiful illumination to escort the King of the Sea. This is Hogg posturing as head of the 'mountain and fairy school':

O Mistress, we dyed the breast of the tide
With purple, and green, and gold beside;
The heaven above, and the heaven below,
We painted in Autumn's boldest glow,
And arched the sea with aerial bow.
And still our liquid song we sung
As the ship on the green wave veered and swung;
And aye we deck'd her gilded prow,
With stomager of the purest snow.
Thy maidens spared nor toil nor pain
To please the King of the mighty Main. (pp.113-14)

Oriel proposes 'a song our King to please .... And be it a Caledonian lay,/ To bind his heart to this land for aye'. As elsewhere, music complements the text. 'Birk of Invermay' has a nautical quality which accentuates the nymph's Song II:

Ye breezes that spring in some land unknown,
Or sleep on your clouds of the eider down,
Come over the mountain and over the dale,
More sweet than Arabia's loaden gale:
Come o'er the heath-flower's purple bloom,
And gather the birk and the thyme's perfume;
For these are the sweets that bring no alloy
To dark Caledonia's mountain joy. (p.115)

They exit to a land, like Kilmeny's, 'Where the breeze never sweeps,/ And the ripple never creeps,/ And everlasting twilight sleeps'.

The Scottish fairies who follow are less flimsy. Their Queen is 'Genius of the Lowlands green,/ With elf and fay,/ In trim array:/ They are coming their long devoirs to pay'. This Fairy Queen would be more at home in *Midsummer Night's Dream* than with Will o' Phaup. She bears some affinity to the winsome Lady of 'Tam Lin', undercut by petulance. Possibly the Queen is intended to resemble the King's mistress, Lady Conyngham, who was involved in planning the visit but absent from the event.

The fairies use 'Broom of the Cowdenknowes', in jubilant song III, to enhance their call:

Sound the bell in the fairy dell,
As the dew falls on the lea;
For tho' this day has been lang away,

It's dear welcome to me.
Sing 'Lora! Lora!' fairies gay,
Sing 'Lora!' o'er shaw and knowe;
For the crown of the land shall firmer stand,
Placed on a manly brow. (p.117)

The play can be enjoyed simply as a lightweight musical, in the future vein of Gilbert and Sullivan's *Iolanthe* (1911).

The fairies are ecstatic about their 'joyful jubilee' but overtly political references now indicate textual layering; a comic veneer covering deep rifts. Fairy aristocrats resent George. Their four leaders respond to the Queen's request that they give him, 'some trifle or toy/ For the sake of the lowlands, the land of our joy' by offering George their 'malison':

Because we were banished by him and his race,
And things called Knowledge, Truth, and Grace,
And sent away, on joyless wing,
In Lapland's dreary caves to sing;
Or through Missouri's wilds to go
With the beaver, the bear, and the buffalo;
Where, nor poetic gloom,
Breathes from the turf-clad tomb,
Nor strain sublime floats on the twilight breeze;
O, when I think upon the Border Green,
Where, in old time, our moonlight dance hath been;
What desolate and dreary lands are these! (pp.118-19)

The Lapland reference may invoke the celebrated party of Laplanders shown off in the capital in 1822. Hogg was often attracted to the exotic, like the polar 'Surpassing Adventures of Allan Gordon' in *Tales and Sketches* (1837). The bemoaning of cultural change is a recurrent theme in Hogg's work.[10] The exiled fairies, furthermore, resemble the exiled Jacobites, banished from their joyous country to 'dreary' spiritual, and sometimes physical, exile.

Hogg's interpretation defies Scott's facile classification of the Hanoverians as intrinsically Scottish. The *Hints* construct a difficult to follow genealogy for George:

> The blood of the heroic Robert Bruce — the blood of the noble, the enlightened, the generous James I is in his veins .... more, he is our kinsman .... there is scarcely a gentleman of any of the old Scottish

families who cannot, in some way or other, 'count kin' with the royal house from whom our sovereign is descended. Nay, in this small country, blood has been so much mingled, that it is not to be doubted by far the greater part of our burgesses and yeomen are entitled to entertain similar pretensions. In short, we are THE CLAN, and our King is THE CHIEF.[11]

The fairies feel, in contrast, that the King is an alien intruder. Yet the Queen pursues a line of argument close to Scott's and, furthermore, suggests the Hanoverian line is preordained:

My elfins sly,
As well as I,
You know the hinges and doors of time;
And that there's a hand
Of mighty command
That opens and closes the gates sublime.
Then what are we to grumble and growl.
But atoms of a magnificent whole? (p.119)

This is an argument which parallels Banquo's constructed line in the Scottish play. The fairies must accept the king who allows them, 'our haunts once more'. Gifts eventually are bestowed. The first fairy offers, 'dreams of glory and bliss', the second 'a kiss', the third 'visions of beauty supreme'. The fourth gives something 'I shall not name;/ But it shall both sweeter and gratefuller prove/ Than glory, or beauty, or fairy's love'. From the fifth, George receives 'friendship', from the sixth 'glee' and the seventh offers 'a wreath from the green hollin tree'. In addition, George will enjoy 'welcome from great and small' and 'love, the dearest of all' (pp.120-21). The Queen blesses him and offers the song of the Border. In fact, George received a more splendid haul. Scott, for instance, presented a St. Andrew's cross in pearls, from 'the ladies of Edinburgh'.

Fairies sing Song IV, appropriately, to 'Over the Border', wishing 'Joy, joy to the land of brown heather!/ The blood of her Bruce is come over the Border' (p.121). Amidst this hilarity, the 'Genius of the Gael' appears, a fantastic 'Spirit of Ossian'. The Queen is unimpressed, 'That old blind sonneteer seems bent/ On lending wild accompaniment' (pp.122-23). They have met before, ''tis now a human age and more/ Dost thou remember?' (p.123). The Gael does not; the Queen persists:

It was in April. All alone
I found thee wailing in woful plight,
Till the clouds around thee moaned outright;
And the old grey rocks and trees of the wood
At thy complaint wept tears of blood.
Dost thou remember? (p.124)

The Genius of the Gael would rather forget 'days of woe'; in case the audience missed the reference, the Queen is explicit:

Because that then, in uncouth rhyme,
You mumbled something of this time:
Of a tartaned King that should appear,
The only stem of a house held dear,
Who should give loyalty its due,
And the honours of the Gael renew.
This I derided, with wicked spleen,
And high the feud rose us between,
Till I raised some elves from out the heath
To tickle your beard, and sooth your wrath. (p.124)

The 'tartaned King', besides invoking the Jacobites, is ambiguous; could there be a hint of the bekilted George? In any case, the Gael rejects the peril of 'the last/ Of Stuart's line' to seek reconciliation with the Border Genius:

That day is past, as well it should;
And one is come, I knew it would!
On which our names shall higher soar
Than e'er rose nation's fame before.
Our King is come, and claims our race,
In garb and lineament of face. (p.125)

The *Jubilee* seems, in this passage, to dismiss the 'Celtification of Scotland' fostered by Scott ('That day is past, as well it should') to look to the future. Given corpulent George in his costly 'garb' of the kilt, specially designed for the visit, this is ironic. It is difficult to believe a man of Scott's intelligence was serious regarding the anticipated Highland ball 'everyone who has ever seen the King, must be anxious to contemplate his fine person in this noblest of all British costumes, "the Garb of Old Gaul"'. Elsewhere he referred to 'our fat Friend'.[12] This public and private contrast reveals Scott's dilemma between nostalgic romanticism and the need for displays of reconciliation he perceived in

the United Kingdom. George's 'lineament of face' was not appealing; no 'Bonnie Prince' as Hogg must have been aware.

The fairies' loyalist response is part lament, part defiance. Set to 'Killiecrankie' (the 1689 battle in which Williamites were routed), the tune offers lilting support (this is not the well known rollicking air of the same name):

> Ohon a' righ!
> Ohon a' righ!
> There's nought but alteration.
> The men that strove
> Our throne to move,
> And overturn the nation,
> Are all come round,
> With wit profound,
> To those they branded sairly,
> And show more might
> For George's right
> Than e'er they did for Charlie. (p.126)

Who in the 'plaided north' will 'stand/ With dirk and brand,/ As Donald does for Geordie?' (p.127). The song dialogue continues in stage Highland: 'Her nainsell now pe praying;/ Though standard praw,/ And proad-sword law,/ She all aside pe laying' to fight, 'For Shorge's right' as before for 'Charlie'. The words, in conjunction with the poignant air, lend an uneasy quality to the piece: Jacobitism gone topsy-turvy.

The Genius of the Gael is impatient at first. His flamboyant belief in Highland worth suggests some kinship with the extravagantly Gaelic Alasdair Ranaldson MacDonnell of Glengarry (Fergus McIvor in *Waverley*) who cut his tenantry from 1500 to 35, and founded the Society of True Highlanders (1815), to foster his 'Illustrious and Ancient Race'. There may be satire, too, on the Celtic Society of Garth, intimately involved with preparations for the visit. The Gaelic Genius honours 'Ancient Scotia, leal and true' himself: 'Think'st thou, Queen of Fairy-dale,/ To outvoice the tuneful Gael?'. He summons Oigh, Sciothache, Molach Tanlaid, Dhubhair and Maighdean-mara to 'Chant this dame a northern song'; a Mermaid enters with these Highland spirits.

Their Song VI, set to the Gaelic 'Magregor na Ruara', calls Stuart and Tudor to unite. Burns used this tune in *The Scots Musical Museum*. Usually a very slow lament, Burns's setting is 'Raving Winds around her blowing', written to console Miss Isabella Macleod of Raza on the death of her sister and suicide of her sister's husband, the Earl of Loudon.[13] The air, and its associations, lend an eerie quality to the song:

> To the pine of Lochaber
> Due honours be given,
> That girdles the earth,
> And that blossoms to heaven:
> Loud flourish the oran,
> With pipe and with tabor,
> To the tree of great Bancho,
> The lord of Lochaber.
>
> Far flourish our stem,
> And its honours rise prouder,
> The stem of the Stuart,
> And rose of the Tudor. (p.129)

This was recycled, with alterations, by Hogg for a later King in the *Edinburgh Literary Journal* of December 1830 as 'A Highland Song of Triumph for King William's Birthday'.

Exulting in 'our King and our Father', hoping he will be brought 'To the arms of his people', the Highland spirits conceal themselves in flowers to eavesdrop on the Southerners (p.130). The Gaelic and Borders's Geniuses are left together.

The Queen notes the absence of 'Spirits of the West': 'captious and bold,/ Like their people of old' (p.131). Hogg seems to have perceived the west as an unruly set of weavers, covenanters and general trouble-makers; Robert Wringhim is 'the crazy minister's son from Glasgow'; Lockhart and Wilson, in the 'Chaldee Manuscript' (1817) demonic Westerners: 'black clad deils'.

The commotion in the dell alarms a 'Grey Highland spirit':

> There are fairies, and brownies, and shades Amazonian,
> Of harper, and sharper, and old Cameronian.
> Some small as a pigmy, some tall as a steeple.
> The spirits are all gone as mad as the people! (p.131)

This madness mocks George's new Scottish order. The Highland spirit is tormented by the Border elves, similar to Prim, Prig and Pricker of *The Three Perils of Man*, also of 1822; they 'prick me with spears of the spider leg bone' (p.132). Faced with this troublesome crowd, the Genius

of the Gael advises 'a song of olden times'. Set to 'The bonny Dairy-maid' (Song VII):

> O rise, thou broad sun, o'er the fields of the ocean,
> Still brighter to-morrow than thou rose today;
> Thou pole-star of life, and our father's devotion,
> In glory ascend thy celestial way. (p.132)

The religion here anticipates the sun-worship Hogg attributed to Gaels of the distant past in *Queen Hynde* (1825).

It is an ironic announcement for the next actor, Gillinour (sounding similar to Gilmartin).[14] This covenanter 'strides by with great disdain' refusing to greet Gael or Queen: 'You, I ween, are vile sectarians,/ Scoffers or latitudinarians,/ I hold no communings with those', despising their 'glee' (p.134):

> Not crowns or sceptres we gainsay,
> But tyrant pride and despot sway;
> And, let me tell you, and attest,
> Ye spirits of ungracious jest,
> That not a corner of our isle
> Has backed the truth, with rank and file,
> As we have done; still showing face
> For Brunswick's firm and faithful race.
> Therefore, beneath yon starry sheen,
> I claim the first place on the green,
> And, with my followers, to maintain
> The precedence on earthly plain. (p.135)

Deep-seated rivalries are expressed now over precedence in the procession, paralleling human competitiveness. In the quest for a prominent place commissioner James Loch made sure Scott was wined and dined, securing the right to carry the Sceptre of Scotland for Lady Stafford's son-in-law, the Earl of Surrey. The scheming necessary to gain tickets is captured by Mary Grant's: 'Joy! joy! a *second* ticket for the Peers' Ball!'.[15]

The Fairy Queen claims first place for 'my broad bonnets of the Border'; Oriel for 'the guardians of the sea ... who have guarded Britain's coast/ Against each proud aspiring host'; Gaeldom's Genius, Donald More, threatens Gillinour with 'terrible Dundee' and Gillinour's 'Ghosts of Ancient Covenanters' will 'make Drumclog of Arthur's seat' (pp.135-37):

> These are the shades of men who rose
> For Scotland's right, and dared oppose
> Tyrannic sway with sword and pen,
> 'Gainst all the wrath of wicked men. (p.138)

The atmosphere of a disturbed conventicle is evoked as the Covenanters prepare to defend their rights physically:

> THIRD GHOST
> I'm ready to lay down my life!
>
> GILLINOUR
> ....
> O'er shade and shingle, rock and rill,
> We'll drive this herd of haughty jeerers
> Like silly sheep before their shearers. (p.00)

so well using the pastoral imagery Hogg liked. Highland shades rise to the challenge 'When yields M'Donald, then shall I'; Borderers respond, 'The land of Bruce will right itself' (p.140).

As the group skirmishes Archie Campbell the Highland policeman enters, 'dark with fatigue and dust'. This singing stereotype reflects popular concepts of the City Guard, Fergusson's celebrated 'black banditti', recently disbanded. There may even be traces of the poet Guard, Duncan Ban MacIntyre (1724-1812), in Edinburgh just before Hogg's time. Archie's spectral appearance reflects public fears of disorder. With so many 'unruly' Highlanders in town trouble was anticipated, compounded by the migration of London pickpockets.[16] Archie, 'the Guardian Genius of the High-street of Edinburgh', takes matters firmly in hand, summing up in stage Gaelic-Scots:

> Cot's tamn! is it not a pold matter that men and dhevils should all have gone mhad at the very same time. The shentles are gone mhad, and the phoor people are gone mhad: the wives are all gone mhad, and the wee, wee pairnies are mhaddest of all. But is it not an awsome thing that the very bogles of the hill should have risen out of the earth and gone mhad too? Keep the peace there, my ghostly masters. Sure, there never was a good shentleman peloved like this! ... Cot pless us! what a hobbleshue, and a hurly-purly, with clans and commoners. (p.140-41)

There are coded references here. Campbell observes: 'tere pe te prave and te ponny Campbells, with te P on the shouter of te arm, whilk shaws

tere mhaster to pe no great scholar, for it should peen a C'. The P and C of Protestant and Catholic?

Archy exhibits his good sense: 'tere shall none of you be either first or last, for you shall just form a round robin about our mhaster and our King, and pe a creat, and a strong, and a mighty pulwark' (p.141). It is unusual to have a moderating Highlander; Archy follows the precedent of MacPherson in *The Brownie of Bodsbeck* (1818). Placated, all sing a 'true Scottish' 'Song the Last', set to 'Go to the Kye wi' me':

> We'll round about a' thegither,
> The way that the wily moon goes,
> And aye we will join the wild chorus,
> And sing our guest to his repose:
> For wasna he weel wordy blessings,
> And wasna he weel wordy three,
> And wasna he weel wordy blessings,
> Wha came to the North to me? (p.142)

George is hailed as a ruler who can 'wield a whole nation' and Campbell dismisses the parties 'like good pairns ... in the King's name' (p.143). He exits, singing 'Hersel be Heelant shentleman,/ Pe auld as Pottal priggs man', presumably a reference to the Battle of Bothwell Bridge of 1679 at which Monmouth routed the Covenanters. This, then, is a reassertion of Gaeldom. The spirits go off in different directions, suggesting a fragmented Scottish identity, not the satisfaction in Britishness superficially proclaimed; Hogg is uncomfortable with his British resolution.

Contemporaries were puzzled; they enjoyed the fun, but neglected the ironies. *The Jubilee* has been seen as the nadir of Hogg's poetic achievement; at best, absurd. In *Blackwood's*:

> He is evidently slightly insane through the whole poem, as in duty bound on such an occasion; for it would have been most monstrous and unnatural for a pastoral poet from Ettrick Forest to have kept his wits when writing a Scottish Masque, *on the spot*, to celebrate his King's Visit to the metropolis.[17]

This is truer than intended. *The Royal Jubilee* must be seen in the context of widespread literary and social hysteria.

Hogg had dramatic experience although, Batho claims, 'no dramatic gifts'. 'Profligate Princes' in *Dramatic Tales* (1817) is of particular interest here, in condemning a dishonourable royal for

neglecting community responsibilities. A touch of *Twelfth Night* enlivens the revelries; performed in Edinburgh in 1816, with Mrs Henry Siddons as Viola. She, with her brother and co-owner of the Theatre Royal, William Murray, helped orchestrate the visit. *Rob Roy*, adapted as Highland/Lowland 'Operatic Drama' by Isaac Pocock was performed in 1819 and 1822, to be revived for George's entertainment. Its music ranged from Burns's 'Auld Lang Syne' to a Lament opening 'Ohone a rie!', no doubt influencing Hogg's spirits of 'The Gael'.[18]

In addition, traditional narrative conventions are used: a ritualised plot; an unruly cast as in 'Galatians', a combat play well-known in Selkirkshire. Its foreign villain was sometimes King George. Oral elements from fairy ballads like 'Tam Lin' and 'Thomas the Rhymer': balances, dialogues and vivid descriptions, may have predisposed Hogg to thinking in dramatic forms.[19]

Perhaps Hogg, as a Borderer, was annoyed by the constructed image of Scotland. Disquiet is expressed even in *Blackwood's* congratulatory volume 12: 'To the King': 'Elegant, graceful, polite, kind, affable MONARCH OF FREEMEN!' (lines 19-20). 'Letter from a Goth' (Alaric 'Attila' Watts) asks:

> what could you all mean by this tartan mania? I trouble you to reflect for a moment on the real state of things, and then ask yourself if anything could be more childishly, helplessly unworthy of Scotland, than such a system, such a deliberate system, of humbug and masquerade, at such a time and at such a place .... A Scott in tartan! Good gracious! ... Wat of Harden would have turned upon his heel![20]

Hogg commented to Blackwood, 'I think the letter from *The Goth* the shrewdest and cleverest thing I ever saw ... the critique on the *Jubilee* is a real good-natured thing one would have thought it hardly possible to have made as much out of a trifle'.[21] Seen in this context, the *Jubilee* is an uneasy expression of tensions below the surface, fragmentation in Scottish identity and ambiguity towards Hanoverians and Highlanders.

His *Highland Tours* made Hogg 'a bit of a Jacobite in my heart'. He liked the euphemisms of Jacobite songs which allowed them to be 'sung openly and avowedly in mixed parties' and perhaps is doing something similar here, mediated by archaism.[22] Yet, regarding Jeffrey's critique of the *Relics*:

> I and all my kindred have always loved and honoured the protestant succession; and if you will look into my Brownie of Bodsbeck you will perhaps see enough to satisfy you, that I am neither a papist, nor an approver of persecutions either civil or religious.[23]

Hogg's nationalism amalgamated loyalties: to the Borders, Scotland and, most tenuously, Britain. 'Donald Macdonald' (1801), Groves suggests, strives 'to reconcile Scotland to England, by presenting former disputes in a humorous light'.[24] Perhaps a similar aim animates the *Jubilee*.

English critics sensed 'a national tone and feeling in his writings, with which we southerners do not wholly sympathize'.[25] Hogg's avowed Toryism could be critical, especially in early pieces. 'Dusty' in *Scottish Pastorals* (1801), questions the status quo: 'Deil tak the King, an' burn his crown'; his dog hangs due to unpaid taxes. 'The British Tars' in the *Forest Minstrel* (1810) comments: 'If these Parliamentary lubbers would but agree among themselves' sailors might be kings.

The *Jubilee* expresses complex feelings towards, and disaffection with, the Hanoverians, concealed in ironic fairy fantasy. In conclusion I would like to quote a passage from *Queen Hynde* (1825), where Wene is disguised as Hynde, which may be relevant in understanding Hogg's attitude subsequent to the 1822 visit:

> O titled rank, long be it thine
> From common gaze remote to shine!
> And long be nursed thy speech refined
> From scrutiny of vulgar mind!
> That thing, in robes of state attired,
> The closer seen, the less admired,
> Kept at a distance, still may draw
> The homage of respect and awe:
> Therefore most humbly do I sue,
> In name of rank, and reverence due,
> Subordination, manners prim,
> And all that keeps a land in trim,
> To keep thy sphere, whate'er it be,
> From scar of scoundrel scrutiny. (Canto III, verse 20)

NOTES

1 Quoted in *Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, edited by H. J. C. Grierson, 12 vols (London, 1932-37), VI, 487-88.

2 *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 12 (1822), 344. Hogg was back in Ettrick by October: 'my little cot has actually been crammed so that I have not had one moment's time for writing aught' — see Norah Parr, *James Hogg at Home* (Dollar, 1980), p.30.

3 Garth helped construct the popular images of Highland regiments in *Sketches of the Character, Manners, and Present State of the Highlanders of Scotland: with details of the military service of the Highland Regiments* (Edinburgh, 1822). See *Hints*, p.9, and *Edinburgh Weekly Journal*, 14 August 1822, p.258. In this paper I have made extensive use of John Prebble's comprehensive study, *The King's Jaunt. George IV in Scotland 1822* (London, 1988).

4 See Walter Scott, *Description of the Regalia of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1819), and P. Berresford Ellis and Seumas Mav A'Ghobhainn, *The Scottish Insurrection of 1820* (London, 1970).

5 The songs, except Rodger's, are reprinted in *A Full Account of King George the Fourth's Visit to Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1838). 'Sawney, now the King's Come' is reprinted in Alexander Rodger, *Stray Leaves from the Portfolios of Alisander the Seer, Andrew Whaup, and Humphrey Henkeckle* (Glasgow, 1842), pp.15-18. See also *The Royal Visit* performed at the Lyceum Theatre, Edinburgh, typescript GUL, SP H.p. Box 3/2, in Glasgow University Library. 'The Gathering' is in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 12 (September 1822), 306-32. Peel is quoted in Alan Lang Strout, *The Life and Letters of James Hogg, The Ettrick Shepherd Volume I (1770-1825)* (Lubbock, Texas, 1946), p.147.

6 Definitions are from *OED* and *SND*: see also *The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner* (London, 1824 reprinted Oxford, 1986), pp.215-17.

7 *Confessions*, pp.39-47, 156-63. *The Following Letters were chiefly written by Jane Grant, born 1800, subsequently Mrs James Gibson Craig, and Mary Francis Grant, born 1804, subsequently Mrs Gardiner (daughters of Sir John Peter Grant, of Rothiemurchus, Inverness, N.B.), during a visit to Edinburgh in August 1822* (n.p., undated), letter XV, p.37.

8 All page references are to the text of *The Royal Jubilee. A Scottish Mask* printed on pp.103-44 of this issue of *Studies in Hogg and his World*. The work was originally published in Edinburgh and London in 1822.

9 Grant, *Letters*, Letter VI, 11 August 1822, p.22.

10 A public display of the Laplanders (Jens, Marine and their child) in national dress, along with their herd of tame reindeer, is advertised in the *Edinburgh Weekly Journal*, 24 July 1822, p.233 — see also Prebble, pp.190-91. Considerations of Scottish social developments include 'On

the Changes in the Habits, Amusements, and Condition of the Scottish Peasantry', *Quarterly Journal of Agriculture*, 3 (February 1831- September 1832), 256-63, reprinted in James Hogg, *A Shepherd's Delight*, edited by Judy Steel (Edinburgh, 1985), pp.40-51.

11 *Hints*, pp.6-7. Robert Huish accepted Scott's picture, noting popular Scottish 'attachment to acknowledged and hereditary chieftainship', including George's, in *Memoirs of George the Fourth*, 2 vols (London, 1831), II, 347.

12 J. G. Lockhart speaks of the 'Celtified pageantry' of the visit in his *Life of Sir Walter Scott*, 5 vols (London, 1900), IV, 44 — see also *Hints*, p.26. Lockhart includes an anecdote of Beau Brummell encountering his former friend the then Prince George while out riding; Brummell's companion bowed to the prince, whom Brummel pretended not to recognise, inquiring 'Who is your fat friend?'. Letters of Scott's utilising this phrase are included in Lockhart's *Life*, III, 61, 91, 242.

13 *The Songs of Robert Burns*, edited by Donald A. Low (London, 1993), No. 81, 'Raving Winds around her blowing'.

14 'Gilmartin' is interpreted 'servant of St Martin', Satan, by Philip Rodgers in '"A Name Which May Serve Your Turn": James Hogg's Gilmartin', in *Studies in Scottish Literature*, 21 (1986), 176-96. The sound 'Gillinour' bears some resemblance to Galt's later *Ringan Gilhaize* (1823).

15 Grant, *Letters*, Letter XIV, 22 August 1822, p.73.

16 Prebble, pp.94-95, 169-70. See also *The Songs of Duncan Ban MacIntyre*, edited and translated by Angus Macleod (Edinburgh, 1952).

17 'Hogg's Royal Jubilee, &c.', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 12 (September 1822), 344-54 (p.349).

18 Edith C. Batho, *The Ettrick Shepherd* (Cambridge, 1927), p.12. The *Edinburgh Evening Courant* of 4 and 11 January 1816 announces and reviews *Twelfth Night*, and see also Isaac Pocock, *Rob Roy Macgregor, or Auld Lang Syne: a musical drama in three acts* (London, 1818), and Henry Adalbert White, *Sir Walter Scott's Novels on the Stage* (Oxford, 1927). See also [Nina A.] Kennard, *Mrs Siddons* (London, 1887) and Donald Mackenzie, *Scotland's First National Theatre* (Edinburgh, 1963).

19 See Brian Hayward, *Galoshins. The Scottish Folk Play* (Edinburgh, 1992). *The Love Adventures of Mr George Cochrane*, adapted by Kenneth Johnston and directed by Judy Steel, was performed by the Rowan Tree Theatre Company on 2 July 1993 at The Brigend Theatre, Dumfries, and on 3 July 1993 at The Old Well Theatre, Moffat, as part of the 1993 James Hogg Society Conference, at which this paper was delivered.

20 *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 12 (September 1822), 261-63, 275, 354. Such opinions were widespread, according to Elizabeth Grant, in *Memoirs of a Highland Lady*, edited by Lady Strachey (London, 1898), p.373.

21 Quoted in Strout, p.247.

22 Continuing in this vein Hogg declares 'in those days ... I should certainly have been hanged', *Highland Tours. The Ettrick Shepherd's Travels in the Scottish Highlands and Western Isles in 1802, 1803, and 1804*, edited by William F. Laughlan (Hawick, 1981), p.73 (entry for Monday, 6 June 1803). James Hogg, *The Jacobite Relics of Scotland*, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1819-1821), I, viii.

23 'Letter from James Hogg to his Reviewer', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 8 (October 1820), 67-76 (pp.69- 70).

24 David Groves, *James Hogg, The Growth of a Writer* (Edinburgh, 1988), p.7.

25 'James Hogg, The Ettrick Shepherd', *Athenaeum*, 5 December 1835, pp.912-13 (p.912).

Glasgow